

# THE WORLD

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No. 25

# TOMORROW

## If War Is to Be Averted

NORMAN THOMAS

## What Is Behind the United Front

KIRBY PAGE

The Canadian C. C. F.

J. MIDDLETON MURRY

OCTOBER 26th

British  
Labor  
Advances

H. N. BRAILSFORD

15 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year



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IT will be interesting to see what the Nazis do to worm themselves out of their Reichstag fire trial. Quite obviously the evidence proves that there is no connection between the confessed incendiary Van der Lubbe and the Communists whom the Nazis accused of complicity. The possibility of connection between the culprit and the Nazis themselves has naturally not been explored by the court. The self-confessed incendiary claims that he performed the deed alone, but that still remains highly improbable. Meanwhile the Nazis have not been able to manipulate the trial perfectly enough to avoid the conclusion emerging from its evidence that they were dishonest in using the fire as a pretext for setting up their totalitarian state. Since they control the press in Germany completely, they will be able to obscure the facts which the trial elicited; but they will hardly be able to overcome a very bad impression in the world outside. The moral is that dictatorships had better leave even the forms of impartial justice alone. The form sometimes yields a measure of reality in justice.

MINISTER of Propaganda Goebbels describes the new Nazi press law, which makes the entire German press completely subservient to the state, as "the most modern in the history of Western civilization." That ought to convince some of us that modernity is hardly a virtue per se.

SENATOR DAVIS, one of the sad relics of the Coolidge-Hoover period, was recently acquitted on a charge of fraud in connection with a Moose Lodge lottery racket. One of his underlings testified that the Moose Lodge never thought of him as "the financial, but rather as the spiritual, leader of the lodge." Perhaps we will yet have a trial in which Andy Mellon is pictured as the spiritual leader of the aluminum trust and Jim Watson as the religious prophet of Indiana Republicanism. Incidentally, it must be admitted that, whatever the weaknesses of the Roosevelt

regime, its Perkinses, Ickeses, Richbergs and Wallaces make the Mellons, Davises and Doaks of the Hoover regime appear like slimy ogres of the underworld.

NONE of the three leading candidates in the New York mayoralty campaign has anything to say about the real economic issues which face the city. They all promise economy, but they do not say whether they will cut into the slice of graft which the bankers get from the city through excessive interest charges. The amount of excessive interest probably exceeds forty million dollars. Beside it the speculations of Tammany district captains are petty indeed. The bankers have come into complete control of our American municipalities, whether the old machines or "reform" administrations run them. La Guardia is personally honest and courageous but the bankers are pretty powerful in the set-up of the Fusion campaign, and it is not apparent that he will be able to defy them.

THE report of the Rockefeller Commission advocating a state monopoly for the retailing of liquor and predicting that local option will be as futile as it was before the Eighteenth Amendment and more futile than national prohibition, is a convincing document. Unfortunately there is little evidence that it will be heeded. The indications are that the various states will simply repeat all the errors of the pre-prohibition period and that little new by way of a creative experiment will come out of repeal. Yet we hope that some state or other will take the report seriously.

ONE of the strange facts in Nazi Germany is that the women voted in undue numbers for Hitler in spite of the fact that he promised unequivocally to send all women back into their homes. Professional women of Germany will now have the opportunity to repent of their political heresies at leisure.

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## Germany Defies the Victors

The sensational withdrawal of Germany from both the disarmament conference and the League of Nations is not so sensational at second thought. It has been obvious for some time that the powers, particularly France, were unwilling either to reduce their own armaments or to permit German rearmament even in terms of "sample weapons." As a result, it was very good politics on the part of the German government to refuse further participation in the negotiations. The unanimous and enthusiastic response of the German people to Hitler's latest move on the international checkerboard proves that he has once more gauged the temper of his nation correctly. It is not apparent that the German nation will either win or gain any immediate advantage from this new tendency toward isolation; but there is obviously a certain psychic release and moral satisfaction in the refusal to participate in negotiations which can no longer be called genuine negotiations because the result is predetermined.

The Hitler government has furthermore played shrewd politics in linking its exit from the League of Nations with its withdrawal from the disarmament conference. Careful observers of German political thought have been predicting for months that one of Hitler's next moves would be withdrawal from the League of Nations, and that such a step would be extremely popular in Germany. In subjecting his decision to a national plebiscite, Hitler will gain additional moral prestige in his own country. The vote in favor of his policy is bound to be overwhelming both because no organized opposition to his policies is possible and because this particular policy is genuinely popular among all classes.

While these developments are quite natural and inevitable when judged from the German perspective, they are nevertheless tragic, because they clearly reveal to what a sorry impasse all peace negotiations have come. The old vicious circle which leads nations to war is clearly revealed by Germany's actions. The hypocrisy of the Allies first created the temper of recalcitrance among the Germans, a temper which Hitler exploited and upon which he rode to power. This recalcitrance increases the fear psychosis of the French and complicates the problem of disarmament. Each side is naturally convinced that the temper of the opposing side makes concessions impossible, and each party has a sense of righteous abhorrence of the ill-

will of the other. Thus a world situation is created in which war becomes once more a dangerous possibility.

The possibility of war must not be regarded as imminent however. Former Ambassador Morgenthau's prediction that war will break out in 1934 has nothing to substantiate it. Nothing is impossible in this present crazy world; but a war in 1934 or even in 1937 is highly improbable. German statesmanship is not so foolish as to embark upon a suicidal venture; and an isolated defiance of Europe would be suicidal. But a higher type of statesmanship than that which is now governing Europe will be required to avert another war. Among other things, the nations, particularly England and America, will have to cease giving France carte blanche in her frenzied efforts to maintain her hegemony in Europe. We are living in an unhealthy world in which two nations, France and Germany are particularly sick, the one suffering from a fear psychosis in spite of her victory in 1918, and the other living in an hysterical sense of frustration. If the rest of the world were healthy it might deal healingly and redemptively with these nations. But it is not, and it is a question whether they can bring a sufficiently new temper into international diplomacy to avoid catastrophe. Peace enthusiasts who can think no further than to join in the general abuse of Germany for her recalcitrance will certainly not be of much help. They merely prove how sick the world really is and how little genuine objectivity is brought to bear upon the perplexing problems that confront all nations.

## Has the League a Future?

The prestige of the League of Nations is at its lowest ebb, and the latest session of the Assembly has proved to be most barren of results. Germany's threatened withdrawal, preceded as it was by Japan's defiance of the League, has dealt the Geneva institution a terrific blow. Countless medicine men are already chanting a funeral dirge over the prostrate body of the League, while sounds of rejoicing are heard in many quarters, and the I-told-you-so attitude is widely prevalent. The course of events within the next few months may possibly complete the demolition of the League. If this proves to be the case, it will be no occasion of merriment, for the demise of the League will symbolize the triumph of international chaos and disintegration.

This is a timely moment to get at the roots of the



disease which has eaten so alarmingly into the vital organs of existing international institutions of justice and peace. The basic fact which must be kept vividly in mind is that the League of Nations was born during the hours when a vindictive treaty of peace (so-called) was being forced by the victors upon the vanquished. The most destructive of all wars was just being terminated, and everywhere hatred and fear were dominant. Valiant endeavors were made by a minority of idealists at Versailles to lay new foundations upon which to erect an enduring superstructure of international friendship and coöperation. But their vision was not sufficiently clear, their courage was not sturdy enough for such a crisis, and their strength was too feeble to withstand the onslaught of terror and passion for revenge. And so the League was reared upon the corner-stones of capitalism, chauvinistic nationalism, imperialism and militarism. The frenzied state of mind which everywhere prevailed prevented the laying of new foundations. The League and the Court were fashioned out of new timber, but they were placed upon rotten undergirding. No more tragic illusion has ever hypnotized well-intentioned humanitarians than the assumption that a diabolical war may be transformed into a generous peace.

Does all this mean that we are obliged to deliver mournful orations over the grave of the League? Not necessarily, or at least not yet. Unless our civilization is to disintegrate to the point of collapse, the principles and procedure represented by Geneva must become dominant in international diplomacy. But this required transformation is conditioned upon radical changes in the economic policies and institutions of the respective nations that compose the League. Self-interest and its wider counterpart national interest, *laissez-faire* and national sovereignty, competition and warfare can never be utilized in the foundations of an enduring world order. The cumulative evidence clearly discloses the fact that it is sheer waste of time and energy to attempt to establish a coöperative world order upon scores of competitive economic systems.

It would be supreme folly, however, to conclude that the League is entirely useless under present conditions. If nationalistic imperialism remains unchallenged and unobstructed by international agencies of justice, even though the latter be pitifully weak, further catastrophic wars seem unavoidable. A partially paralyzed League is preferable to no League at all. Dismal as has been the record of Geneva in relation to the Manchurian crisis, the situation would in all probability be much more menacing if there had been no League action whatever, and the prospect of an ultimate solution is brighter because of the Lytton report. Article 19 of the Covenant and the existence of the League facilities increase the likelihood that the Treaty of Versailles may yet be changed drastically by pacific means.

For these reasons we deplore the unqualified con-

demnation of the League by the Congress Against War recently held in New York City. The manifesto issued by this conference says bluntly: "This Congress against War warns the masses against reliance upon the League of Nations and Kellogg Pact as effective instruments of peace." More realistic is the attitude displayed in the platform of the Socialist Party, which calls for entrance into the League by the United States on terms that will avoid military entanglements and yet will enable this country to assume its share of responsibility for purging and strengthening international agencies of justice.

The radical transformation of capitalism and nationalism is the price of peace, and the League of Nations may yet render valiant service in revolutionizing the present economic and international system.

### Detroit Methodists Highly Resolve

Further evidence of the awakening of the churches to a realization of the indefensible character of the present social order is found in the recent report of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform of the Detroit Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. War and peace are dealt with in these words:

Believing that war cannot be reconciled with our belief in the sacredness of human personality, the supremacy of human and spiritual values, and the power of love, we repudiate war as a means of settling international controversies. . . . We favor the abolition of armaments and military forces, except those which may be necessary for police purposes. We favor the discontinuance of military training in our schools and colleges and of the Citizens' Military Training Camps. . . .

Inasmuch as our General Conference and various Annual Conferences have petitioned our government for the exemption of Methodist conscientious objectors from military service, requesting that members of our communion be given the same status of exception as that accorded the members of the Society of Friends, we assume that the requested exception petitioned is granted, and act upon that assumption. . . .

Our Church having renounced the war system, we urge the resignation of our clergy from the office of chaplain in the army and navy. A chaplain is an army officer, subject to military discipline, and his loyalty is to the commands of his military superiors. We desire to minister to the needs of soldiers and sailors, but we must serve as civilians.

A vigorous indictment of capitalism is contained in this declaration. Persons who are familiar with various resolutions passed by religious bodies during the past decade will be impressed with the growing radicalism exhibited in such words as these:

The Christian of the first century contrasted his ideals with the life of his day and recognized that he was living in a pagan world. The Christian of the twentieth century believes that he lives in a Christian world. He abhors murder, petty theft, and rape, but he glorifies war, praises the accumulation of vast fortunes by corporate robbery and the stealing of the rewards of labor, and approves the ravishment of subject peoples. He passively accepts murder and injustice when disguised as practices of an economic order. Despised and un-



tolerated personal evils become virtues when incorporated in business, political, or national life. But slowly and surely the Christian conscience is being awakened to social-mindedness, and the four years of economic depression are accelerating the disillusionment.

Then follows a long and detailed indictment of the motives, methods and results of capitalism. The profit motive is condemned, and ruthless competition is declared to be "diametrically opposed to the ethics of Jesus." Maldistribution of income and wealth, the exploitation of workers and farmers, the failure to provide security or social insurance, the collapse of the banking system in many communities, and the prevailing method of hiring and firing are held up as intolerable aspects of our economic order. "We believe that these evils are not phenomena of the present crisis, but are inherent in our capitalist system. We confess that the Christian church is so enmeshed in this system that it must bow in humility and repentance for its share in producing these evils. . . ."

There is reason to rejoice over this new attitude of many churchmen, but there is occasion for concern over conspicuous omissions in the Detroit report. No reference is made to the most intolerable aspect of the present economic system, the private ownership of the primary means of production and distribution, and no recognition is displayed that the solution of our economic problems awaits the transfer of natural resources, chief means of transportation and communication, and heavy industries from private to public ownership and operation. Equally disturbing is the boastful silence of the report concerning an effective strategy of transferring power from the present owners to the workers by hand and brain. Aside from an endorsement of the principle of collective bargaining, nothing is said about the necessity of organizing the workers, consumers and voters in economic and political organizations for the purpose of abolishing the competitive system and replacing it with a cooperative commonwealth.

The churches are becoming bolder and bolder in their denunciation of the evils of capitalism, but as yet they reveal little appreciation of the nature of the social struggle in which they are caught. The responsibility now resting upon them is terrific beyond exaggeration. If the transfer of power is to be made in the United States without the agony of civil war, a substantial portion of the middle class must be weaned away from capitalism and enlisted in the ranks of pacific revolutionists. The structure of our population makes it impossible for the proletarians to seize power through their own strength. Fortunately, the churches still exert enormous influence over countless members of the middle class, and there is yet time through education and organization to enlist many of them in the crusade for a radically new social order. But effective leadership must go far beyond denunciation of capitalism and

set forth a constructive and dynamic strategy of pacific revolution.

## The Right to Strike

The utter blindness of a large section of the owning class is illustrated in a recent editorial in the *Financial Chronicle*. In discussing the strike in the coal mines owned by the steel companies, the so-called captive mines, this spokesman of Wall Street deprecates labor's interference with management's freedom of action. The editorial traces the rise and development of the steel industry and shows how essential the control of coal mines has become. The extent and degree of power wielded by the United States Steel Corporation is set forth statistically, with no apparent realization of the social significance of the data thus presented. The editorial closes with an appeal for a free hand. "To handicap big business respecting its sources of supplies would be to strike a blow not only at capital, but at labor and the consuming public upon which both capital and labor must depend."

An even more illuminating example is furnished by an article by Ida M. Tarbell in the New York *Herald-Tribune*, under the title, "No More Strikes." In commenting upon William Green's assertion that "the right to strike is fundamental," Miss Tarbell says: "Sounds like the recent arguments of Japan defending her Manchurian maneuvers. Mr. Green is claiming for labor what he denies to nations. He is not willing to outlaw force when it comes to adjusting difficulties with the employers. He would bargain, but always with a weapon in his hands." Nothing is said about the weapons in the hands of the employers: the right to fire, determination of working conditions, control of the press and other agencies of influencing public opinion, and domination of government itself. It is such blindness that makes one most apprehensive about the future of industrial relations.

## Americanism in Action

No more damning indictment of American society can be drawn than the unadorned description of a lynching party. On Wednesday a mob of 2,000 persons at Princess Anne, Maryland, battered down the jail door and dragged out George Armwood, who was accused of assaulting an aged white woman. The Negro prisoner was hanged from the limb of a tree directly in front of the home of Judge Duer. His body was then dragged half a mile along Main Street to a blazing pile in the center of the street and there burned. Here is the way the lynching was described by the Associated Press:

The march to the scene of the lynching of Armwood was wild in the extreme. The mob members seemed crazed, continually leaping on the Negro, even after he fell to the ground and was unable to rise. One boy, apparently about 18 years old, slashed the Negro's ear almost off with a knife. Under



the oak tree, despite the presence of women and children, all the victim's clothes were torn from his body and he hung there for some minutes nude.

The victim may have been guilty, although it is the responsibility of a court of law to decide that question. Even if Armwood committed the atrocious assault with which he was charged, lynching is utterly indefensible on every count. The leaders of the mob are known to hundreds of citizens and should forthwith be dealt with by the law for this act of ferocious lawlessness. But it must be admitted that there is little likelihood that any member of the mob will ever be convicted. If the matter is left in the hands of local authorities, popular passion will prevent effective action. The experience of half a century makes imperative the enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law. Nowhere else in the world is lynching such an ingrained habit as in the United States. And this ghastly manifestation of Americanism can be stamped out only by national legislation, supported by aroused public opinion. Until this cancer is cut out of our society, we had better lower our voices when we denounce the savagery of foreign dictators.

## The Odor Rises to High Heaven

The stench from the American banking sector continues to befoul the atmosphere. The latest whiff comes from the direction of Albert H. Wiggin, former chairman of the Chase National Bank of New York City, the nation's largest financial institution. Since 1929 more than \$800,000 has been paid to Mr. Wiggin from the Chase treasury, although during this same period the stockholders of the bank have sustained tremendous losses. Before the Senate committee the fact was disclosed that it has been necessary for the Chase National Bank to set aside 212 million dollars to cover losses incurred during the past five years.

Thus the bank's constituency is confronted with the spectacle of a payment approximating a million dollars to its ranking official for the major part he played in incurring a loss of 212 millions! And Mr. Wiggin was not the only beneficiary of the bank's generosity. Three other officials received half a million dollars each during this period. Since retirement Mr. Wiggin has been granted a pension of \$100,000 annually as long as he lives. While he was in active direction of the bank's policies, he was also a director in numerous corporations to which the Chase was making loans. A former salary of \$20,000 from the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation was followed by a loan of more than three millions to Gerhard Dahl, chairman of that corporation, on flimsy collateral. Then there was a salary of \$2,000 from the International Paper Company and a loan of more than three millions to the same company.

A while ago it was Charles E. Mitchell, now it is Albert H. Wiggin, tomorrow it will be—? If the

whole truth were known, it is likely that the apathetic public would be shocked into action. Depositors have lost billions of dollars in bank failures, stockholders have been fleeced of unknown millions in exorbitant salaries and through numerous unsavory devices, and citizens have been victimized through clever evasions of income-tax payments. Unwarranted optimism, gross blunders in judgment, seared consciences, and downright dishonesty have combined to wreck public confidence in the nation's banking system. Yet Wall Street is flooded with crocodile tears from bankers who are wringing their hands in horror of Tammany Hall's corruption. The simple truth is that graft flourishes in American politics because of the richness of the soil.

## Socialized Housing

One of the wisest steps which the Administration has taken is the decision to set up a separate public housing corporation which will engage directly in slum clearance and the construction of model dwellings for the workers. For some time Secretary Ickes relied upon municipal action and hoped that the willingness of the federal government to give the localities 30 per cent of the cost and lend them 90 per cent of the remainder would encourage the cities to come forward with housing projects. Except, however, for Cleveland and one or two other communities, this did not happen, at least partly because the sodden politicians who dominate most American cities did not have the imagination to see that decent and gracious housing is more needed than airports or post offices. Failure of the cities to respond was also due, however, to the fact that most of them were already bonded so heavily in comparison with their legal limits that they hesitated to add still further to their fixed indebtedness. Finally, they would in many instances have found it impossible to raise the small stake money which they were required to put up as an evidence of good faith.

In view of this absence of local initiative, Secretary Ickes has done the only possible thing. The federal government does not have the constitutional debt limitations which tie the hands of cities, and it has at the moment a far more concerned and energized attitude towards the depression than the local governments. It has shaken off the obsession that limited dividend corporations, with their monthly rentals ranging from eight to twelve dollars per room, are what is needed, and it is prepared to build for the unskilled and semi-skilled and to rent at rates of five to six dollars a month per room. This is bringing housing to those who need it most, and we hope that the several hundred million dollars which will supposedly be spent for this purpose will be followed by very much larger sums. Some of this, from the standpoint of money accounting, will be lost, but as we have again and again pointed out, from a social point of view, it would not represent a loss at all. For it would reduce crime, juvenile de-



linquency and disease, and would make children happier and family life richer.

In developing this program, the Administration needs to be on its guard lest it be forced to pay too much for real estate. For owners of land commonly seem to believe that the government should pay far more than private buyers, and there are always political "fixers" who try to profit by these manipulations. Secretary Ickes has his eyes open on these matters and will try to prevent the government's being held up. But this same spirit needs to be embraced by the entire organization.

It is also desirable that the housing projects which are developed be not exclusively suburban but that they involve the clearance of some blighted areas and the construction of garden apartments, with all the pooled advantages of congregate life. If we can turn the idle time of the unemployed into removing the worst blot upon our urban life, we will be making progress and exhibiting a collective intelligence which to the cynically-minded has seemed impossible.

### Roosevelt's A. F. of L.

The American Federation of Labor's fifty-third annual convention revealed primarily that among the rank and file considerable distrust of the Roosevelt program and practice under the NRA is present, but that outwardly and officially the President still has the organization in his pocket. Having staked substantially everything on support of the Administration, William Green and the other officers of the A. F. of L. could hardly permit the growing doubts to manifest themselves openly in public policies. That is why, chiefly, what promised to be one of the most dramatic and lively Federation gatherings in history, and which was actually of great import at bottom, appeared on the surface to be one of the tamest in many years.

The heralded battle of John L. Lewis against the supremacy of Green failed to materialize, although Lewis—none too happily for those who have closely observed his career as labor leader—was easily the dominant figure at the convention, controlling votes by the hundreds of thousands. Even the movement for an enlarged, more representative, and more youthful council, led by Lewis but significant in its backing by progressive elements in the Federation, was voted down. Nationalization of banks was rejected. Exclusion of Filipino workers, whatever happens with regard to Philippine independence, was favored. Led by Sidney Hillman, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a powerful and progressive organization long the cause of hostility in A. F. of L. officialdom because of its secession, was admitted by unanimous vote—a consummation of long negotiations which may eventually result in the increase of progressivism in the A. F. of L., but which may easily, on the other hand,

spell the end of the Amalgamated's moral leadership in the labor movement. The usual Socialist speech was made by a British fraternal delegate and listened to with polite and perfunctory cordiality by labor delegates still paralyzed by the ancient and effective hope of humanizing capitalism. A step away from American labor's perennial isolationism was taken, possibly, in the significant vote to boycott German goods for Hitler's repression and destruction of free unionism. Most crucial and most tragic was the vote, by 13,877 to 5,859, against steps toward the upbuilding of industrial unions; for, practically speaking, the old craft union policy simply cannot operate under modern industrial conditions; not only does the craft union emphasis play straight into the hands of unscrupulous employers but it renders almost hopeless any effort to bring into labor action the vast unorganized masses of unskilled workers. Many explanations will be offered by the old-time labor leaders for their persistence in a type of unionism that was decadent before Samuel Gompers died; but it is obvious to any candid observer that one reason is their ambition to maintain what is tantamount to an aristocracy of labor.

Nevertheless, underneath the superficial loyalty to the stage managers in the "council of elders," apprehension was plain. The possession of evidence in the A. F. of L. files of 300,000 cases of violation of the NRA codes by employers was enough to cause any sincere labor leader alarm. Still more alarming, perhaps, was the increasing truculence of General Johnson and President Roosevelt toward strikes, while maintaining toward rampant big business an attitude of tolerance already almost a scandal. "The plain, stark truth is that you cannot tolerate a strike," said Johnson to the convention. "Public opinion is the essential power in this country. In the end it will break down and destroy every subversive influence." President Roosevelt himself uttered sinister words in his address dedicating the monument to Samuel Gompers, when he warned that just as in the war, so now, those who upset the national balance would have to be put "in a corral." The Administration is obviously more nervous every day because its gallant but lagging program is failing to come within hailing distance of the achievements forecast last June. Not only has the allocation of huge sums failed as yet to put many men back on the job; not only have the forces of anarchical industry shown that they can flout the Administration's demands and get away with it; worse, no evidence at all has developed to indicate that the vaunted NRA policies can get around the inexorable fact that in all probability a working week of not more than 28 hours is the only thing that will absorb the jobless.

When the A. F. of L., therefore, reiterated its demand for the 30-hour week, it voiced a sentiment far more radical than it realized and at the same time made a plea that contained at once genuine realism



and pitiful futility. For it seems certain that the inauguration of a universal 30-hour week (which is staggeringly far below the hours in actual operation, the NRA notwithstanding) is about the only remedy which holds any promise. That is realistic. But it is exactly the opposite of realism to reaffirm by open act and covert implication the faith of labor in progressive capitalism, when it is extremely unlikely that capitalism can survive the application of a 30-hour week at all, and even if it did, would only be postponing the question of a still shorter working week rendered inevitable by the modern machine. It cannot too often be dinned into the ears of the American people that a 30-hour week is essential, yet would drive countless firms to the wall.

The only way that remains out of the inescapable deadlock is the abolition of the capitalist order and its replacement by a Socialist commonwealth, which alone has a chance to achieve a genuine planned economy without the cumbersome institution of private profit. The A. F. of L., we believe, will have to come to that realization sooner or later, and similarly the American people as a whole. Yet it appears to be one of the major traits of our civilization that those who of all people ought to see ahead of them perceive the truth too late.

### Hillquit—and an Era—Passes

With the death of Morris Hillquit, at sixty-four, American socialism grieves a leader whose devotion to high causes will not quickly be forgotten. It likewise is compelled to pause, even in its tributes, to recognize that the passing of an honored guide under present world conditions will inevitably accentuate the transitional character of socialism in the United States and raise new questions of future tactics.

Morris Hillquit was a well-to-do man, having achieved success in the legal profession many years ago. In their restiveness over the contrast between moderate wealth and radical economic views, many of his critics from the extreme Right and the extreme Left overlooked the bitter years of struggle out of which his success was painfully wrought. Coming here from Riga when only seventeen, he worked in shirt factories, only fitting himself for the bar by laborious night-time study. His mind was so extraordinarily keen and incisive that he won his way among many who shared not at all his social convictions.

Nevertheless, it was as a fighter for radical ideas that Hillquit rose to prominence in the Socialist movement. He was one of the original secessionists who revolted in 1899 from the rigid dogmatism of the Socialist Labor Party and the brilliant but autocratic sway of Daniel DeLeon. He was associated with Debs in the upbuilding of the Socialist Party thereafter, the American from Terre Haute supplying warmth and

zest, the other, from overseas, cool reason and critical judgment. In the perspective of history, perhaps, Morris Hillquit will loom less vividly for his books on socialism or for his party guidance, than for the brilliance and courage of his campaign for the mayoralty of New York in 1917. Not even his huge vote for mayor in 1932, which amounted to some 250,000 ballots, could possibly eclipse the 150,000 votes he polled in that hysterical year running on a program of frank opposition to the war. Let all those who manifested impatience with Morris Hillquit at times over this strategy or that unite in unreserved gratitude that when the Social Democratic parties of Europe broke the International into pieces under the strain of war pressure, Hillquit not only remained obdurately opposed to the war but openly fought it and contributed mightily toward the maintenance of the Socialist Party of America in a line which, looking back, requires few apologies.

It is certain that a revaluation of Socialist Party methods and objectives will be speeded up by the passing of the National Executive Committee's chairman. There were many aspects of Morris Hillquit's leadership as chairman of which, increasingly in recent years, Socialists of all ages, though perhaps more in the younger group, were doubtful. It is unfair to state, as certain newspapers have, that Hillquit was against recognition of the Soviet Union; but it was a fact that he allowed his resentment over the severe treatment of Social Democrats by the Bolsheviks to infuse his Russian outlook with a passionate disfavor which made him far less generous and tolerant than many a conservative. He knew Europeans and Europe intimately, and while he was not avowedly or perhaps even consciously opposed to an indigenous American socialism, his mind could not readily dismiss European schisms and conflicts within the movement. His somewhat superficial adhesion to an oversimplified parliamentarianism brought him into sharp opposition to those within the American party urging a strategy of labor action in crises to control the inevitable capitalist revolt against democratic socialization; while, curiously, his unyielding persistence in traditional economic doctrines of Marxist orthodoxy made unnecessary opponents of those who were sympathetic with socialism but who demanded restatements of it to accord with changing conditions.

Hence, irrespective of who may be his successor as chairman of the National Executive Committee of his party, his death will emphasize the declining influence of the views he came, somewhat too sharply in the public eye, to symbolize. But no march of events or attitudes can dim his brilliance or destroy his fame as one of the great leaders of American socialism, and for that reason, in our view, even more particularly, one of the genuinely great leaders of the United States.



# If War Is to Be Averted

NORMAN THOMAS

**A**NOTHER session of the disarmament conference at Geneva is with us. Soon we shall celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the armistice, which some of us fondly hoped was to be the end of war. Yet never did the hope of peace stand at lower ebb. Fear of war is more universal and pervasive in Europe than it has been at any time prior to the end of July, 1914. The United States stands a little outside the dread circle of Europe's alarms, but in the midst of depression it has the biggest military budget it has ever had except during the "First" World War and in 1916 immediately preceding its entrance into the conflict. The triumph of fascism in Germany is not only of itself a fact of the most sinister significance, but is at once an evidence and an accentuation of a rampant nationalism wholly out of line with the conditions of peace in an interdependent world. In the Fascist philosophy peace is not even a good to be desired. The collapse of the London Economic Conference, due in no small measure to the attitude of the Roosevelt administration, which at first had blessed it, left the world almost wholly to the mercies of tariff wars and raids of one national currency system upon another, out of which to preserve even the precarious balance we now call peace will be a political miracle.

Yet in America there are various peace societies almost professionally optimistic, which cheer one another by exhorting us that the Geneva Conference cannot and must not fail. And when you ask what constitutes success, you learn, as I did at a recent incredible conference, that we may get some limitation of armaments and international supervision of them, together with the prohibition of chemical warfare! To hold that even this measure of success is highly dubious, and that, if achieved, is of no great significance for good, is regarded as a kind of treason by our brave sentimentalists who still believe that there is a cheap price for peace. Yet I think the thing that most needs saying in a magazine with the record and the constituency of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* is that nothing which is at all likely to happen at Geneva will meet the desperate needs of the world.

Let us assume that which I regard as unlikely, namely, that the disarmament conference will finally present a series of documents outlawing chemical warfare, reducing armaments, establishing international supervision over them, and possibly forbidding the monstrous trade by private firms in the means of death for private profit. I do not believe such agreements would be ratified or, if ratified, honestly kept. If they

were they would do comparatively little to abate the danger of war. Indeed nothing done at Geneva can long succeed which does not approach an arrangement giving Germany equality with her neighbors either by reducing their arms to the German level or by raising the German arms to theirs. In either case so long as fascism prevails and Germany regards herself as outraged by the boundaries fixed at Versailles, it will be possible for Europe to fight a war with destructive fury never known before—and it is all too probable that such a war will break out. To be sure, there may be a psychological gain to peace and a considerable practical gain to the budgets of the harrassed nations if armaments are reduced. The principle of international supervision may be a somewhat hopeful precedent to establish. That is all.

**I** QUESTION whether the alternative, "war or disarmament," which, according to *Time*, was the general theme of European headlines when Germany sprang her demand for "samples" of the kind of arms denied to her but permitted to her neighbors, is valid. The degree of disarmament which is at all probable would at best only give us a breathing space for more fundamental approaches to peace. As for a treaty abolishing the use of poison gas, that would do more harm than good. Italian and French military generals have been cynically discussing chemical warfare and the preliminary political propaganda to justify it. Nations which will not end war will no more end the use of poison gas in war than warriors in the age of chivalry refrained from the use of gunpowder, which was an atrocity of the deepest dye in the minds of gallant knights. The danger of a treaty to outlaw chemical warfare is that it may induce a false sense of confidence and catch some potential enemies of war off their guard.

I do not say these things because I believe it is absolutely hopeless to keep America out of war or because I set no value at all upon such matters as the disarmament conference. I say them because I want to record a solemn protest at the pacifism which thinks there is an easy price for peace. By putting second things first, I believe that many of our most estimable peace lovers have actually helped to increase the danger of war. They allowed themselves to get excited about pet panaceas like the World Court and the Kellogg Pact; but they have never been equally excited about the economic and other terms of the peace treaties which plowed the soil for the crop sown by the Nazis,



the bitter fruits of which the world may yet reap. They do not yet understand that the Kellogg Pact may have prevented the declaration of war but not war, as thousands upon thousands of corpses of young Japanese, Chinese, Bolivians and Paraguayans mutely testify. They talk about the possibility of preventing war without changing our basic economic system and cite the inner peace of capitalistic nations as their proof. Yet even while they talk, in nation after nation that peace becomes less secure and the threat of revolt, if not of revolution, grows greater.

THE inescapable truth is that in a world with our tradition of war there can be no secure peace until we have substituted the ideals and practice of coöperation for the rampant nationalism and the economic exploitation which are in their very nature at war with that harmony of nations, races and economic groups in which alone there is reasonable expectation of lasting peace. This does not mean that I have gone over to an acceptance of H. G. Wells's *The Shape of Things to Come* or any other prophesy of disaster as the verdict of inexorable fate for the next few decades. It means that the first thing the lover of peace must do is to face the necessity for the transformation of our predatory society. The more unlikely we can make particular wars while we seek to change the system which is the mother of all war, the better for us all and for our cause. Historically the ever-present fear of foreign war has immensely hampered and twisted the growth of socialism within the nations. Hence my concern for such imminent and pressing matters as the recognition of Russia; a well thought out general conference for loosening the grip of imperialism—not merely Japanese imperialism—in the Far East; the successful renewal of the efforts to stabilize currencies or at least prevent a war between them; the effort to base tariffs not on a curious mixture of individual greed, jingoism, and stupidity, but on a realistic examination of the degree to which particular industries and particular nations fall short of an international code worked out at Geneva. I shall even cheer for some measure of success in Geneva provided our friends will recognize how insecure will be that success in a world gone or going Fascist.

BUT if any of these immediate measures are to be at all successful, they must be born of some such steadfast opposition to war as the Socialist League persuaded the British Labor Party to adopt. That resolution pledges the party to refuse to support any British government attempting to make war, and to stop hostilities if necessary by a general strike. The great task in America is to build up an economic and political party of the workers possessed of the will and the desire to adopt such a resolution and the strength to make

it effective. Meanwhile, for reasons that Devere Allen has already set forth in these pages, while I sympathize with Dr. Einstein's despair, I cannot agree with the logic of his partial repudiation of his former belief that the young men in every country who will refuse to be dragooned into a foreign war are, by their very existence, a check upon the statesmen who would stumble and blunder into that war.

There is, I shall be told, little of what I have said about the roots of war or the conditions of peace which the very pacifists I have criticized have not said at some time or other. Perhaps that is true. The point is that most of our conferences, from Williamstown (defunct because its work is done!) to the F. O. R., have got us nowhere. The need of the hour is for effective, organized action. It is essential not only that we win great masses to the cause of peace, but that we organize them to struggle for it. We cannot, if we are in our right minds, declare a moratorium on our peace convictions every four years at election, any more than we can declare "we are all Socialists now" and then vote the Republican ticket. Both things have been tried with results that all men can see. Today even the most eloquent recital of the horrors of war and the beauties of peace is likely to degenerate into an emotional debauch unless it can be tied not merely to an immediate program of the "practicable" but to the great struggle to achieve the federated commonwealths of mankind.

(This article was written on a transcontinental train before Hitler's action threw not only the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations but the whole world into confusion. The force of the article is strengthened by what has happened. Hitler has logic on his side in asking equality in armament or in disarmament. Europe has reason on her side in distrusting Hitler. But Hitler would never have been in power had Europe and America taken the obviously wise course in time. Once more a terrible chapter of history may be written under the words "Too Late!" But it is not too late to keep the United States out of war. Our slogan should be "Coöperation with the world for peace, no coöperation with any nation or any group of nations for war."—N. T.)

### Who's Who in This Issue

H. J. Voorhis is headmaster of the Voorhis School for Boys at San Dimas, California.

John Middleton Murry is editor of "Adelphi" (London) and is the author of "Jesus, Man of Genius."

Edmund B. Chaffee, director of the Labor Temple in New York City, is the author of "The Protestant Churches and the Industrial Crisis."



# What Is Behind the United Front

KIRBY PAGE

**T**HE high degree of success achieved by the United States Congress Against War and the ambitious plans being made for state organizations to expand its activities make this an appropriate moment to take a look behind the scenes and see what we can see.

That the Congress Against War was initiated by Communists, and that a large proportion of the persons in attendance at the mass meetings and conference sessions were Communists or sympathizers with communism is admitted by all observers. Mr. Donald Henderson, a Communist, was secretary of the Congress and will undoubtedly play the leading part in its subsequent activities. The New York gathering was a direct outgrowth of the Amsterdam Congress held in August, 1932, which likewise was initiated and dominated by Communists. The Amsterdam meeting, in turn, was one of a long series of efforts on the part of Communists in various countries to secure a united front. Communist literature abounds with interpretations of the significance of the united front campaign, and the primary objective of this undertaking is set forth with the utmost frankness. There is no occasion for doubt concerning their purpose.

"The united front is not a peace pact with the reformists. *The united front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against the social-fascists, for the possession of the masses. . . . It is absolutely necessary to convince each worker in the Socialist Party, Musteites or A. F. of L., through his own contact, that the Communists are the only sincere, active and efficient fighters for unity in the struggle for their own daily needs . . . we have a tendency to neglect or slur over differences in principle between the Communists and the social-fascist leaders. We can never win the workers to a united front struggle, which means winning them away from the social-fascist influence, unless we meet squarely and explain sharply the basic differences between us and them.*" Thus writes Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, in the August, 1933, issue of the *Communist*, official organ of the party.

"The Socialists have not received the attention that they must receive," writes C. A. Hathaway, editor of the *Communist*. "We have to get down to bedrock in our fight against the Socialists and against the bourgeois demagogues. We are never going to be able to break the masses away from their influence if we continue to carry on our activity on the basis of just phrases. . . ."

The attitude reflected in these utterances by outstanding American Communists is wholly consistent with the policy of the Third International. Indeed, the Communist Party of this country is not a separate, autonomous party, but is a section of a single world-party of communism, the Communist International, and in every respect is under the complete control of the Comintern. For a dozen years efforts have been made in various countries to secure a united front. Here is the official pronouncement of 1921: "The Communist International openly announces to the millions of workers of the whole world that *there cannot be genuine working class unity without a struggle for the violent overthrow of the whole existing capitalist order, for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. . . . The time will come when entire and now still powerful Social Democratic parties will collapse or, if they persist in their treachery, will burst like soap bubbles; and when whole strata of the social democratic workers will come over to us. The tactics of the united front further and . . . expedite this process.*" This frank avowal comes from the highest source.

**T**HE latest issue of the *Communist* says: "We constantly warn American workers against illusions of pacifism spread by liberals and Socialists. . . . Our party equips the workers with the understanding that the struggle against the imperialist war must, in the event of war, *be turned at the opportune moment into civil war* for the overthrow of the war-breeding capitalist order." In his second volume on *Leninism*, Stalin lists the duties of the various Communist parties: "Firstly, to carry on an incessant struggle against Social-Democracy along every line, both economic and political, including the exposure of every form of pacifism, with the object of winning over the majority of the working class. . . . The most popular method of lulling the working class and diverting it from the struggle against the danger of war is present-day pacifism, with its League of Nations, the gospel of 'peace,' the 'outlawry' of war, the nonsense about 'disarmament,' and so forth. . . . And the most important thing in all this is the fact that Social-Democracy is the principal conveyor of imperialist pacifism among the working class, and is, therefore, the principal support of capitalism within the working class in the matter of preparation for new wars and for intervention." Thus we see that continuous efforts are being made by Communists to discredit the leadership of Socialist and pacifist movements.



The question now arises, in view of the relentless hostility of Communists toward Socialists and pacifists: Is it wise strategy for organizations of the latter to appoint official delegates to cooperate with Communists in a united front against imperialist war? Many non-Communist participants in the New York Congress are convinced that effective cooperation is possible. They point out that the Communist delegates showed great restraint and that no irreconcilable differences developed. *To be convincing, this argument needs to be supplemented by evidence that henceforth the Communist Party is ready to abandon its frequently-avowed determination to disrupt and destroy the Socialist Party and other "social-fascist" organizations.* Thus far I have searched in vain for such evidence. Surely it is not reasonable to attribute more weight to Communist good behavior in the New York Congress than to an enormous mass of testimony from the lips and pens of Communist officials during the past decade, including utterances from outstanding Communists of this country within the past few weeks.

Since the Communist Party of Great Britain is controlled by the same parent-body that controls the Communist Party of the United States, it may be illuminating to examine the record of British Communists with regard to the united front, especially their relations with the Independent Labor Party. The British Labor Party has concluded that there is little to gain and much to lose from an attempted united front with Communists and has therefore determined to proceed along its own lines. The I. L. P., however, after seceding from the British Labor Party, has been following a leftward course which has brought it close to the Communist position, so much so that some of its influential leaders have resigned on this account. Under the circumstances, it was natural that the I. L. P. should attempt a united front with the Communist Party and other radical groups. The Communist International has met these overtures with what appears to be deliberate contempt. Here is the Comintern's conception of the united front: "If the members of the Independent Labour Party are really developing in the direction of adopting our programme, then possibilities open up in Great Britain for the formation of a single, strong, mass Communist Party corresponding to the condition of the country. . . . If the Independent Labour Party energetically assists the struggle of the Communist International, this will be of great international significance. We request you to inform us whether your Party agrees to give precisely such support and assistance to the Communist International." The officials of the I. L. P. replied with counter-suggestions for common action. No response came from Moscow. Whereupon the I. L. P. requested the courtesy of an answer. After further delay the Com-

intern replied by accusing Fenner Brockway, formerly chairman and now secretary of the I. L. P., of "the worst kind of slander" and by suggesting that the I. L. P. affiliate with the Third International.

This latest expression of policy by the Third International contains certain sentences that are highly relevant to our discussion. In analyzing the composition of the I. L. P., the Comintern writes: "In short, many members of your party are revolutionaries, but many leaders are reformists. To be more exact, they are Left reformists. . . . 'We also want Socialism,' say the Left reformists, 'but by a pacifist technique of revolution.' In other words, this means we do not actually want revolution, which brings all kinds of dangers. . . . But the British bourgeoisie are emphatically against the fate of capitalism being decided by peaceful means. . . . Its policy is a bloody one, and its 'democracy' is shown up as class dictatorship. *Bourgeois class violence cannot be broken up by 'pacifist technique,' but only by the class violence of the proletariat.*"

**E**VEN if American Communists conclude that they can bore from within more effectively by a policy of restraint in relation to the Congress Against War, the evidence is cumulatively inescapable that they have not diminished one iota their ruthless determination to destroy Socialist and pacifist movements that stand in the way of their winning the workers to violent revolution and civil war. In view of the incontestable fact of this irreconcilable hostility of the Communist Party toward the Socialist Party, it appears to me to be the height of folly for the officials of the Socialist Party to attempt a united front which has no foundation of reality.

Nothing is to be gained by making a fetish of unity when there is no unity. Pacifists have had many unhappy experiences in vain endeavors to secure a united front with conservative peace agencies. The evidence is now conclusive that it is not practicable for cautious peace workers and radical pacifists to cooperate effectively in a united campaign against war. Vitality is more important than unity on a basis of compromise. A genuine unified front is likewise impossible between Communists and Socialists, between persons who seek to transform imperialist war into civil war and pacifists who have repudiated the war method in all its manifestations.

Let Communists exert themselves to the utmost limit against imperialist war, and let Socialists and other pacifists struggle unceasingly against all war. A satisfactory united front is not attainable. With utter frankness Communists say that the only really effective cooperation is armed action of the workers in civil war against capitalists. This is the objective behind the united front.



# Sixteen Ideas on Prosperity

H. J. VOORHIS

1. We could produce plenty for everyone in the United States today, but we don't.

2. The reason we don't is that when anything becomes really plentiful, it no longer is possible for a small group of people to control its output or to maintain its price at high levels. The prosperity of the owners of capital depends upon keeping goods scarce.

3. We think the only way to get purchasing power to the masses is through privately-owned businesses, which figure a profit first and then pay wages out of what is left. We are wrong.

4. The NRA is founded on a terrible misconception, for it is based on the idea that by limiting production and destroying crops the people will somehow be made better able to buy more goods. It is based on the idea that in order to give purchasing power to the people we must first, by producing artificial scarcity, make private owners of jobs prosperous. It is based on the obvious lie that the people can buy *more* goods if *less* goods are produced.

5. The falsity of this becomes clear if we consider what purchasing power really is. It flows from the amount of real wealth produced. In a simple society, without money, where a system of barter prevailed, it would be clear that each person would have a purchasing power equal to the amount of real wealth he produced. In an industrial society exactly the same thing is true. The total purchasing power of the people is limited by the amount of real wealth produced.

6. Hence if private owners of tools are "prosperous," it means that by charging a price for their goods which is more than the real wealth they represent they take for themselves a large share of purchasing power and leave less for the masses of men. This is what causes collapse of the market, unemployment and bankrupt farmers. The farmer does not get the real social value of his crop as purchasing power because he cannot control its price and because to buy a machine, for example, from a company which *can* control price and make it include profit he must in effect barter many more agricultural goods than the real value of the machine justifies.

7. A continuation of this system of creating "prosperous" owners of tools means not only that the workers and farmers cannot have their just share of the purchasing power represented by total production; but also that there must always be recurring periods of want, misery, unemployment and privation when the workers and farmers, in a state of near-starvation, pay

the price of not having received their just share of purchasing power. For they have lost what the profit-takers gained, and the fact that for a time they paid the high prices and bought goods priced above their power to *continue* buying them means that they must later go almost entirely without purchasing power for a time to make up for such "extravagance."

8. Depressions, unemployment and want will continue as long as profit is made by industrialists, as long as anti-social additions to the price of goods—such as advertising—are possible.

9. We could produce plenty for all but we don't do it.

10. We will be able to do it only when the power to own the product of industry is taken away from those who at present try to raise prices to include a profit.

11. We will do it only when all producing wealth is owned publicly, when the total real wealth production in any given year is figured up by economic experts, and when appropriate amounts of purchasing power certificates are issued in approximately equal amounts to every inhabitant of the United States.

12. When consuming power, equally distributed, will automatically balance production, which really is consuming power.

13. Then it will be to the interest of everyone to produce as much as possible, and the prices of goods will be determined *only* by their relative abundance—not their absolute scarcity. Then no one need be afraid to produce so much of his goods as to make it almost *free*, for his purchasing power will no longer depend upon his ability to make his particular product scarce. Then and only then will it be possible actually to produce the plenty which we can produce. The profit brake will be released.

14. Under these circumstances, moreover, no one would object to being required to produce *some* new kind of goods—supposing the kind he formerly produced were actually in such abundance that no more were needed—for he would be secure in his living anyway.

15. Self-interest would pass away, for there would no longer be any point in it. The only possible pursuit of self-interest would lie in increasing the product of society and thus indirectly increasing one's own share. Class consciousness would have come into its own.

16. Incidentally, we would then be living in the Kingdom of God.



# Not in the

## Visa Policy Reversed

Although the decision came too late to do practical good, thus evidencing either red tape or deliberate "sabotage," the State Department permitted Tom Mann, British Communist and anti-militarist, to enter the United States, thereby reversing an old policy which banned alien members of Communist organizations. Mann had wanted to attend the United States Congress Against War, but arrived too late. Henri Barbusse, French radical, was admitted after a disagreeable detention of an hour. Previously, the State Department has prohibited the entry of such persons as Alexander Kollontai, Shapurji Saklatvala, and other foreign radicals.

## Einstein Repudiates Communism

In a statement issued in mid-September regarding his share in various movements for progress in which Communists have taken the lead or participated, Dr. Albert Einstein states that he has never been a Communist, and that in his opinion "any power must be the enemy of mankind which enslaves the individual by terror and force, whether it arises under a Fascist or Communist flag."

## England's Workers Not Improved

Despite claims in the press that England's people are better off than formerly in the depression, on the last Saturday of June, 1933, there were 1,272,058 persons on poor relief in England and Wales. This was 85,178 fewer than in March, 1933, but 91,442 more than on the last Saturday of June, 1932.

## Against Berwyn Jim Crowism

For more than a year 200 Negro pupils have stayed out of classes in Berwyn, Pennsylvania, rather than accept segregation in a special school for Negroes. The N. A. A. C. P. has now accepted leadership in the struggle to abolish this segregated school.

## City College and War

The military training controversy at the College of the City of New York continues unabated. Last week a delegation of some 200 students marched to the City Hall in a vain endeavor to lay grievances before Mayor O'Brien in person. It will be recalled that in June, 21 students were expelled from C. C. N. Y. because of an altercation with President Robinson during a mass protest against the R. O. T. C. Opponents of military training on the campus of City College are urged by a committee of students to send protests to the Board of Higher Education, 138th Street and Amsterdam Avenue.

## Terzani Trial Date Set

Athos Terzani, young anti-fascist who is believed by liberals and radicals and many conservatives to have been the victim of a frame-up, will be tried for the murder of Anthony Fierro on November 27. The defense has demanded photographs of fingerprints on the alleged murder revolver, but the District Attorney refuses, and the case, according to radicals, presents every aspect of the usual anti-radical crusade, if anything a little cruder than usual.

## What Minimum Wages Are

In the first decision to be issued since the minimum fair wage act went into effect in New York State, the industrial commissioner announced minimum wage rates of 31 cents an hour in New York City and 27½ cents an hour in the remainder of the State for women and minors working in laundries. There are over 20,000 women on these jobs in the State. Low as these rates are, for thousands they constitute a raise.

## Women Report on NRA

A committee from various women's organizations in Milwaukee has reported to Mayor Daniel W. Hoan that its investigation shows little or no gain from the NRA to worker-consumers.

## British Labor Membership

Notwithstanding the trend toward a decrease in trade union membership which affected most countries when the depression set in, recent reports show that individual memberships in the British Labor Party, at least, have greatly increased. Since 1931, 82,830 members have been added, making a total of 379,833. Individual membership, however, is less significant as an index to progress than total membership in all classes.

## NRA to Date

Although business activity rose to nearly normal in mid-July, it dropped sharply again soon after. That production could not keep up, partly because of inability of the workers to buy, is indicated by the following figures for the month of July in various recent years as based on an index of 100 for normality. The figures also show the tremendous lag of jobs and pay behind productivity:

Year	Goods	Pay	Jobs
1923.....	104	103	106
1929.....	124	105	103
1930.....	93	82	87
1931.....	82	64	75
1932.....	58	40	58
1933.....	98	50	70

## Oklahoma Segregation Opposed

Legal action against a municipal ordinance regulating residential districts of whites and Negroes is being taken by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared unconstitutional several laws of similar nature and intent.

## News from Harlan County

An electoral revolution has occurred in Harlan County, Kentucky, long the scene of bitter industrial warfare. The aroused miners have swept out of office Sheriff Blair, Judge Jones and other representatives of the mine owners, whose suppression of civil liberties and acts of brutality toward the workers became so notorious that public protests were made in many sections of the United States.

## While Children Are Hungry

Surplus cows, especially those that are low producers of milk, should be killed: this is a recommendation of the State Milk Control Board of New Jersey, and a report from Washington says that the suggestion is being seriously considered by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

## 6 Million from 24 Thousand

The investigation being conducted by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has revealed the fact that Dillon, Read & Company in 1928 and 1929 made a profit of \$6,819,270.26 from stock of the United States and Foreign Securities Corporation for which they had paid \$24,110.40.

## Working Class Plays

A new theatre, which will stage working class plays at low prices, will shortly open in New York City, under the auspices of the Theatre Union, 104 Fifth Avenue. The first play will be "Peace on Earth," an anti-war drama. This will be followed by "Dr. Mamlock's Escape," an anti-Hitlerite production.

## Progress in the Air

During the past three years the Soviet government has spent an average of 150 million to 170 million rubles annually on the development of a civil war fleet. The ton-kilometers of freight transported by air increased from 729,100 in 1930 to 1,290,000 in 1931 to 1,575,600 in 1932. In the amount of air mail carried the Soviet Union is surpassed only by the United States. In total air service U. S. S. R. ranks third, with Germany second, and the United States first.



# Headlines

## Seeing Is Believing

So convincing and indisputable is the story of the riot which recently took place before the Spang-Chalfant Seamless Tube Company's plant at Ambridge, Pa., as revealed by the Pathé News camera, that even that staid stronghold of conservative capitalism, the editorial columns of the New York *Herald-Tribune*, yielded the following comment: "The sound of the clubs as they fall is very plain. . . . The camera switches at that moment to the main body of deputies, standing with their guns at the ready. One whips his up and fires. . . . There is also a subsequent 'close-up' of the Sheriff. It is a face neither pleasant nor intelligent. . . . The whole initiative in this photographic record comes from the side of the 'law.' It is not a pleasant picture, and strongly suggests one reason why Pennsylvania has found it so difficult to maintain industrial order."

## Real Wages Down

Real weekly earnings of the workers throughout the nation declined 1.8 per cent during August, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, a conservative organization of employers. The survey was based on the reports of 25 nationwide manufacturing industries. This decline occurred while average hourly earnings of workers rose from 45.5 cents in July to 49.7 cents in August, and average hours of work per week fell from 42.6 to 38.8. The net result of these two developments was a slight rise of 10 per cent in average weekly earnings, which was offset because the cost of living rose still higher.

## Socialists Carry Zürich

Although almost every factor which might aid them was absent in the recent elections held in Zürich, Switzerland, home of the Labor and Socialist International Secretariat, the Socialists came through with a larger vote than the combined vote of the various conservative and liberal parties. For the legislature the vote ran: 37,000 for all the bourgeois parties; 3,680 for the Communist Party; 37,800 for the Socialists, a gain of 12,000 as compared to two years ago. The Socialist votes ran markedly higher for municipal executives, the ticket-leader polling 43,485. In the local legislature there will be 64 Socialists, a gain of one seat, in a total of 125. Communists' seats dropped from six to two. The balloting is deemed unusually portentous in view of Nazi threats both from outside and inside Switzerland, and the semi-fascist character of the present government. Zürich's population is about 250,000.

## 100,000 Marks Free

As propaganda against inflation of the currency, the *Wall Street Journal* is mailing free to its constituency 100,000-mark German Reichsbanknotes. This note in pre-war currency was worth \$23,820, but at the height of inflation an American dollar would buy more than a trillion marks.

## Norwegian Laborites Gain

The general election in Norway this week resulted in a gain of 20 seats in the Storting. Labor's new representation of 70 members falls just short of a majority of the 150 members of the Storting. The Conservatives lost heavily, and slight losses were registered by the Farmers' Party and the Liberal Left Party.

## World's Fair Discriminates?

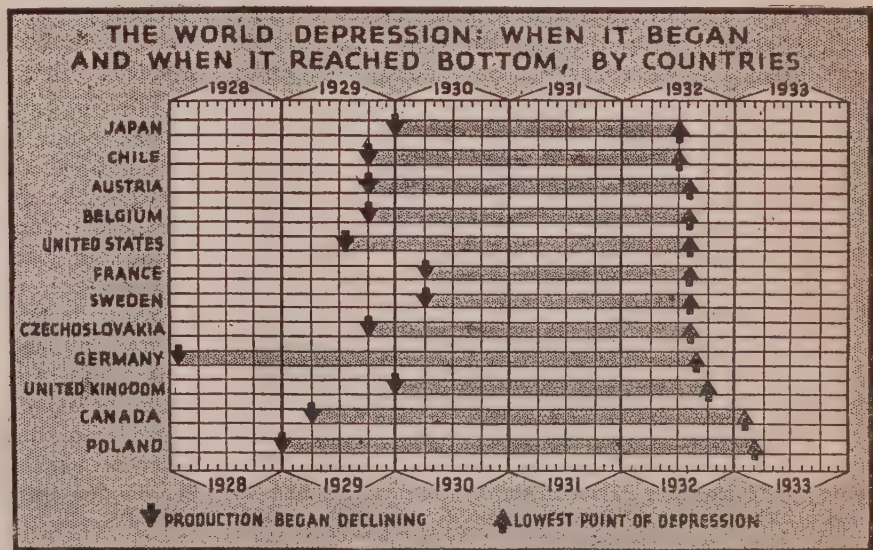
Investigation at the Magic Mountain on the Enchanted Island at the Chicago World's Fair, declares the Federated Press, reveals a new discrimination against Negro patrons. "You pay the entrance price," asserts the F. P.'s Central Bureau, "climb up the mountain and then slide down. At the bottom an attendant helps to break the bump by catching you. Elaborate number signals, shouted down from the top, indicate whether a fat man, fat woman, beautiful flapper, or what not is about to slide down. Numbers eight and thirteen mean that Negroes are coming." Attendants at the bottom fail to assist them, according to the charge contained in the F. P. dispatch.

## Municipal Plants Save Four Million

When the books of the Los Angeles municipal power and light plants were footed up last June 30, according to figures recently released, there was a net profit for the citizens of the city amounting to \$3,881,258.18. Bonds worth \$2,273,560 were redeemed and interest coupons paid. These public power plants have loaned money to the city of Los Angeles for unemployment relief.

## Tammany, Liberia, Panama

The versatile columnist of the *Army and Navy Journal* in his latest offering pays tribute to Tammany Hall for loyal support of national defense by its representatives in Washington. Concerning Liberia we read: "Maj. Gen. Blanton Winship, representing President Roosevelt at Geneva, is laboring skillfully to save Liberia from the greedy hands of European powers. The Negroes of America, sentimentally interested in the African Republic, are supporting General Winship enthusiastically. We might add that Monrovia could be used in a naval way in case of war with a European power; hence the interest of the Services in that country." In commenting upon President Roosevelt's statement that it is "perfectly absurd" that Panama is not permitted to have its own radio station, this columnist says: "I suggest that the President have a second thought. Should he do so, he will realize the necessity of American control over communications at the Canal."



—From the *United States News*, Sept. 30-Oct. 7



# British Labor Advances

H. N. BRAILSFORD

**A**N American observer who spent this last week in attending the annual conference of the British Labor Party at Hastings would have been puzzled by the change that has come over it. It was once among the Socialist parties in Europe the most practical, perhaps the most pedestrian. Yet for the second year in succession it has held a Conference that hardly concerned itself with anything that is happening in our island today. Its eyes are fixed on the distant horizon. It is living for the moment when it will return to power with the single purpose of beginning the deliberate transition to socialism. That moment may lie three years ahead, but more probably it is eight years distant. The Party, however, lives for nothing else, and thinks of little else.

For this there are several reasons. Firstly, the political life of our island under Mr. MacDonald and his mainly Tory ministry is not very interesting. It starves the social services; it hands over housing to private enterprise; it raises prices by restricting supply: it has finally made an end of Free Trade. But it is an inert and unimaginative government which will do nothing creative. In the second place the English movement has realized that the day is past when the workers could hope to extort, from a capitalist government, substantial benefits in the shape of social reforms. In the days of capitalist glory and prosperity Lazarus could pick up many an appetizing crumb round the table of Dives. There are none of these morsels to be had in these days of capitalist decline. That lesson the Labor Party learned, once for all, when its last administration broke up. It had tried to justify its tenure of office without a majority by the confident belief that it could, with Liberal support, carry a large number of important social reforms. Broadly it failed: it would be untrue to say that it did nothing, but certainly it did much less than the Liberals had done under Asquith and Lloyd George, while capitalism was still expanding and the nation's income rising. That experience has turned the once reformist Labor Party into a resolute and conscious Socialist movement, bent on transforming the whole industrial system.

So it happened that for the second year in succession the Conference spent most of its time in considering the plans of the Executive for this transition. They are not yet completed, and it is probable that a third and perhaps a fourth conference will be spent in this way. At Leicester, a year ago, it was evident that the rank and file of the Party is appreciably in advance of its leaders. The Conference on that occasion carried

several important amendments against the platform; all of them tending to widen the program and hasten the tempo of socialization. The chief controversy then was over banking. The Executive proposed to nationalize the Bank of England, but it was content to say that the great commercial banks should be brought under some undefined species of control. The Socialist League, which then was only a few days old, made its first appearance by demanding the socialization of all the commercial banks. After a brilliant and exciting debate it won. Rather to our surprise, when the Executive produced its revised proposals this year, we found that it had adopted the view of the majority with complete loyalty, and save for a phrase or two, which it quickly altered, we were wholly satisfied with its draft.

**T**HIS was a novel experience. In the old days, when I was a member of the I. L. P., we sometimes managed to carry a resolution on policy in the Labor Party Conference against the Executive. But there was never a sequel. The resolution remained on record, but the Executive went its way as if it had never been carried. The fault, I now realize, lay mainly with the I. L. P. It was not, in its latter years, a loyal unit in the Party: it conducted a continual jealous rivalry for its own honor and glory, and the result was that even when it had (as it often had) a sound and far-seeing view of policy, it aroused so much irritation by its manner that its best contributions were wasted. The Socialist League has so far had a much happier experience. No one doubts its loyalty. It is not trying to be a rival party. And it is contriving to make its influence felt as an advanced but friendly Left Wing.

The chief interest of this Conference again centered in an amendment from the Socialist League, considerably more daring than the last. It drew attention to some of the difficulties that a resolute Socialist Ministry will encounter when it really strikes at the roots of the capitalist system. The older generation had had its little successes in socializing tramways, gas and electricity undertakings. It imagined that it could go on, calmly and uneventfully, to nationalize banking, the coal mines, the railways and agricultural land in exactly the same way. If it had a majority in Parliament, who could resist it? It did not perceive that these proposals involved a challenge to the power of the owning class. It might tolerate the socialization of the railways, which are not very profitable enterprises, possibly even of the coal mines, which in England have



seen their best days. But to socialize banking (meaning the whole system of commercial credit) is to assail capitalism at its strategic centre. When we attempt that, there will be an organized panic, a flight from the pound, a financial crisis incomparably graver than that of 1931, and it will start on the day that we take office. If we hope to do our work in conditions of order, we must have power instantly to cope with this financial sabotage, which would soon overwhelm us, if we stood passive and helpless, under ruinous prices, food shortage and mass unemployment.

THE Socialist League argued, therefore, that the government must have ready an Emergency Powers Bill—not to imprison its opponents, not to suppress hostile opinion, but to deal swiftly and boldly with the financial crisis. The Commons would pass it, but the Lords would certainly throw it out. What then? We should have to abolish the House of Lords. If we meant to do that, the sooner we said so the better. These, with a general reminder that it would also be necessary to simplify and speed up the incredibly dilatory procedure of the British Parliament, were the proposals of the Socialist League. They amounted to this self-evident proposition: when we really try to get socialism we shall be faced both with an economic and a constitutional crisis. Let us, then, go into it with our eyes open and our plans ready.

The Conservative Party seized on these proposals of ours with greedy delight. They accused us of advocating a dictatorship. They compared us to Stalin and Hitler. They wholly ignored our central purpose, which is to ensure that the will of the democracy, registered at the ballot-box, shall prevail against the resistance of the bankers and the hereditary House of Lords. On the whole the Labor Party understood us very well, and knew that we did not exaggerate the danger. But the more timid were alarmed by the Tory outcry, and were indignant with us for saying dangerous things in a blunt way that would alarm the average voter. Certainly, we agreed, he will be alarmed; better, then, to say it now, so that he may have time to recover from his fright before we ask him for his vote. We want no votes that mean less than a resolute support for socialism. We expected that the Executive would oppose us. It did nothing of the kind. It informed us in advance that it was ready to give the most sympathetic consideration to our proposals, but it wanted some more time to think them out. That suited us perfectly, for there is no hurry. An interesting debate took place at Hastings when our Chairman, Sir Stafford Cripps (a member of the late government and the best debater in the diminished Labor Party in the present House), moved our amendment, but there was no vote, since the Executive undertook to give full consideration to our proposals.

So, very happily, the Party contrives to preserve its unity and its good temper, while it prepares itself for the difficult task of carrying through a revolutionary transformation without injury to democracy.

### The Armament-Maker

HE oils the tongue of lobbyists  
Whose logic fits his will.  
If Britain's guns have blinding glints,  
Ours must be shinier still.

The brothers, Fear and Hate, he hires  
To help the planet's press—  
And ignorance who sometimes gives  
Jesus centurion dress.

When tax-dazed nations meet to spin  
Disarmament's bright scheme,  
He delegates sleek anarchists  
To blast the common dream.

If countries war, his subtle trade  
Claims enemies as friends.  
Whoever vomits up his lungs  
Will vomit dividends.

While millions starve, and millions more  
Draw an uncertain breath,  
He has his yacht and proud estates,  
This racketeer in death.

ALAN JENKINS

### Tenement Cathedral

COLD walls of brick  
Shut in a tree  
Titled in earth, and quick.

*A cry  
Thins with twisted branches  
To the sky.*

Pully-poles score  
The vertical to the top-most floor;  
Fences tread in pompous height  
Through the wizened light.

*The swing of buds along  
A twig  
Remembers spiral song.*

Shrieking to monotony  
One reiterated window-note,  
Cold walls shut in a tree.

*In ritual of rain, in choir of petal-light  
The dawn-earth chants transcendancy—  
Spring has come to kneel  
In the cathedral of a tree.*

HELLENE SEAMAN



# The Canadian C. C. F.

J. MIDDLETON MURRY

IT is very little over a year since a meeting of farmers and Labor men assembled at Calgary set up the provisional organization of the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.), under the leadership of James S. Woodsworth. Its success in the ensuing twelve months was extraordinary. In his speech at the first Annual Convention, held at Regina, July 19-21, 1933, the President could say:

The growth of the C. C. F. during the past year is indeed remarkable. The publicity has been unprecedented. The mystic letters C. C. F. are on everyone's lips. Last year, with one exception, the delegates were all from the Western provinces. This year we welcome many from the East. Indeed, were it not for the time and expense involved, the Easterners might easily predominate. The C. C. F. has swept Tory Toronto almost as a religious revival. The organisation is now almost dominion-wide.

The C. C. F. is, essentially, a democratic Socialist organization. But what is remarkable about it is its composition. It has gathered together labor, the farmer, the small business-man, and the black-coated clerical worker. Elements which have, in continental countries, fallen a victim to Fascist allurements, largely owing to the exclusiveness of a Socialist movement based narrowly on organized industrial labor, have in Canada been attracted to the Socialist cause.

The basic reasons for this are, no doubt, economic and historical. The Canadian farmers have no feudal tradition; nor is the country predominantly industrial. But the situation has found men capable of giving it idealistic expression. The name of the new movement is aptly chosen; it emphasizes the aim and ethical content of the Socialist movement, and by so doing helps to ensure that the end shall not be lost, or denied, in the means.

Socialism [says Mr. Woodsworth in his Presidential Address] has so many variations that we hesitate to use the class name. Utopian Socialism and Christian Socialism, Marxian Socialism and Fabianism, the Latin type, the German type, the Russian type—why not a Canadian type?

Perhaps it is because I am a Canadian of several generations, and have inherited the individualism common to all born on the American continent; yet with political and social ideals profoundly influenced by British traditions and so-called Christian idealism; further with a rather wide and intimate knowledge of the various sections of the Canadian people—in any case, I am convinced that we may develop in Canada a distinctive type of Socialism. I refuse to follow slavishly the British model, or the American model, or the Russian model. We in Canada will solve our problems along our own lines.

The spirit of this declaration is admirable. It is a thousand pities that it is not more often emulated in this country. To make it a matter of national pride that one's own country should make its own advance towards socialism, is to take an important step towards disarming the Fascist enemy in advance. To enlist the patriotic motive in the Socialist cause is vital if we are to forestall an anti-Socialist organization of society. Yet it is pathetic how many good Socialists are led away by words into believing that patriotism and socialism are "sheer antipodes."

It appears that in Mr. Woodsworth the Canadians have a Socialist statesman. We envy them. We envy them even their program:

The C. C. F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Coöperative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality, will be possible . . .

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

The social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of Coöperative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence.

It may be said that we in England know the deterioration which attends the political organization of a Socialist movement. To which the one and sufficient reply is that if a Socialist organization cannot develop the inward integrity which alone can make it immune from the corruption of politics, still less can it, in a period when politics is still possible, develop the inward integrity which is necessary to maintain an anti-political revolutionary movement. The problem is a moral one. If a true Socialist *morale* is impossible in an era of democratic politics, then there is nothing to do (since Socialist politics becomes a contradiction in terms) but



to wait for the unrolling of the historical process. The pretense of militant and insurrectionary Socialist organization is so much deliberate or unconscious illusionism. The corruption that attends political organization will also undermine insurrectionary organization. Indeed, the corruption will be not less, but greater. For insurrectionary Socialist organization in a society in which political action is still possible is an artefact; it cannot be naturally nourished, as healthy Socialist organization must be, from the resources of the common people. The only true solution of the problem is the creation of a Socialist political movement with a non-political *morale*. This realization is not only implicit in the constitution and program of the C. C. F.; it is explicit in the concluding words of the President's address:

If our movement is to be successful, it must bear—as we think it does—something of the character of a religious crusade. Only thus can we overcome the danger of being swayed by personal ambition or by the hope of immediate success. Only thus can we rally the masses to struggle for a better future for themselves and their children.

We have not the space to give details of the actual program of the C. C. F. It is perfectly satisfying; substantially the same as that of the Socialist League in this country. But here again, the C. C. F. has freed itself from the dead-weight of hackneyed Socialist phraseology, and formulates its aims in terms which

make a direct appeal to the average, decent, perplexed citizen of today.

We believe that this is the correct approach to be made by socialism to the people of a modern nation, to whom, by definition, industrial methods and democratic government are alike familiar. It is by such an approach that the desperate appeal of fascism to the instinct of patriotism and the desire for order can be frustrated. The socialism which, beglamored by Russian precedents, cannot think its own doctrine into forms that make some natural appeal to the idealism of the average decent man, commits the fatal blunder of leaving that appeal to be exploited to the base end of the maintenance of privilege. The everlasting propaganda of the class war is worse than futile: not because the class war does not exist, but because it is a fundamental fact, which those who understand are inclined to talk least about. *Pensons-y toujours; n'en parlons jamais.*

I find that statesmanlike wisdom in the declarations of the C. C. F. Its remarkable success calls for the most serious attention of British Socialists, not merely as sympathizers with a Socialist movement of such importance in a great English-speaking country, but as men who have learned, by bitter experience, that some essential spirit has been largely lost from their own movement, and who are prepared to learn how it may be recaptured.

(Reprinted from *The Adelphi*, October, 1933.)

## News for Peace

DEVERE ALLEN

**A**N independent news agency serving the cause of world peace and operating with professional standards of accuracy and literary appeal has long been needed in our country. Millions of Americans have no comprehension of the aims, progress, problems, and significance of the international movement to build a warless world. Among the editors of many papers—the newspapers, the religious press, the journals of organized labor, and miscellaneous magazines of progressive tendency—are hundreds who are not wilfully indifferent to the presentation of international questions from a pacific viewpoint, but who are not equipped to obtain news which the major press services and metropolitan newspapers all too frequently ignore. To supply them with authentic information, presented with adequate reader-interest, must be a task undertaken by those most actively interested in the abolition of war. That need will soon be met, it is hoped, by the *Nofrontier News Service*, of which the writer is Editor and Director, and Ray Newton, as

Secretary of the Peace Section of the American Friends Service Committee, Co-Director. The Service Committee is sharing in the development of the project.

By continuous news releases, technically attractive and prepared on the basis of extensive editorial experience so that the busy editor can run desired material through his periodical with a minimum of editorial labor, *Nofrontier News Service* expects to reach the hands of editors who influence the thought of several million readers. If a small proportion of these editors place only a minor part of this material before their readers, and if only a small percentage of readers follow the "copy" supplied by *Nofrontier News Service*, even then the impact of the service must be considerable and greatly incommensurate to the modest cost of maintenance.

There will be little if any duplication of existing press releases, for the subject matter will depend upon a corps of live correspondents throughout the world and a searching of bulletins and periodicals in many



languages—a task to which previously no organization, to my knowledge, has devoted its staff. *Nofrontier News Service*, furthermore, will be broader in its news interests than any single society or federation. Finally, it will seek definitely to classify its clientele, discovering by slow but thorough canvassing just what editors need and will use. To the editors subscribing to the service will come, fortnightly, material written by an experienced editor with the editorial problem intimately in mind. Included will be news items from many countries bearing on international affairs, which can be obtained solely through such an agency as *Nofrontier News Service*; an occasional article illuminating an important event in international relations; an editorial, perhaps, which can be sent to press at once because of its crispness, readable style, and factual dependability.

Three categories of news releases, eventually, are contemplated:

1. To religious papers of the United States, Canada and United States possessions;
2. To labor organs, across the spectrum of opinion from Left to Right;
3. To standard periodicals, rural weekly newspapers and small-city dailies in every State of the Union.

**N**OFONTIER NEWS SERVICE will attempt to fill its releases with interesting news ordinarily withheld from print because no agency has previously undertaken to ferret it out and make it useful. How many Americans have heard, concretely, of the extraordinary growth of thoroughgoing peace associations among the intellectuals, women, and trade unions of republican Spain? Of the 6,000 Swedish young men who recently banded themselves together to refuse military service or training, cost what it might in personal sacrifice? Of the pacifist bodies and their real attitude in Japan since the Manchurian adventure began? Of the attempt at the Gandhi strategy of non-violent resistance in the Philippines and also in a New York strike (instead of violence) by one of our largest trade unions? Of the services to the world's unemployed by the international Labor Office of the League of Nations? Of the most recent work of the *Service Civile*, the "army without hate"? Of the striking increase of French pacifism? Of the new anti-militarist organizations in Mexico? Of the latest menace from scientific inventions as applied to the secret trade in arms? Of the striking new Peace Ballot Association in England and its revelation of the real public attitude toward total disarmament? Of the new alignment of Finnish pacifists? Of the war strategy planned by imperialists in case of conflict over Persian oil? Of the truth about our relations with the state we established long ago in Africa—Liberia? Of the recent under-

takings of the various American peace organizations? Such items as these, in addition to the constant treatment of pertinent international happenings more in the public eye, all come within the scope of *Nofrontier News Service* and its world-wide report-sources.

For students and teachers primarily, though not limited in its readers, *Nofrontier News Service* is already publishing a small fortnightly paper, "World Events," which will follow and interpret the outstanding events in world affairs. This "pocket periodical" sells for the very low price of 25 cents a year and is issued from October to June inclusive.

**T**O writers, speakers and institutions desiring elusive facts on the peace movement or international questions, *Nofrontier News Service* will send the desired information, when possible, for a moderate fee or without charge, depending upon the amount of work involved. To the editor who wants to tell his readers just what lies back of the dispute in the Gran Chaco or the implications of Austrian political upheavals will be furnished an exclusive article by a competent authority. Even to that editor, who, from a sense of the fitness of things, wishes a line cut or a half tone to illustrate an article on international affairs, may go, on order, a Daumier drawing, a Wiertz print, a Daenens linoleum block, or a stirring cartoon to be republished, with due credit, from some foreign journal Americans never see.

For editors in foreign countries who will print news of something besides the more unsavory episodes of our national life, there will be available at regular intervals either articles or news bulletins depicting American activity for world peace and economic justice, portraying in some measure the "other America" about which foreign people seldom hear. For the minister, club secretary, teacher or discussion-group leader who wants something unusual to rouse flagging interest, there will go, as soon as the technical work can be done, for a modest rental fee, an up-to-the-minute lantern-slide lecture arranged in a manner entirely different from the worn-out descriptions of costly monuments along tourist traffic lanes, using new and beautifully colored slides combining high entertainment value with instruction in current issues and events.

*Nofrontier News Service* (to be published at Wilton, Connecticut) is in no sense "another organization." It competes with nothing, unless perhaps the large press agencies which as often serve the cause of war as that of peace. While it is managed independently, it is supported to a limited degree by the American Friends' Service Committee (the national organization of Quakers) and is receiving the cooperation of most of the peace associations in the country. No existing group, periodical, or enterprise can be hindered by this service; many will be aided.



# Preachers Present Arms

*Preachers Present Arms.* By Ray H. Abrams. Round Table Press. \$2.50.

**A**T last some one has done it. Many of us have waited for years for this story to be told objectively and in detail. Of course it was common knowledge that the rôle of the churches and the preachers in the Great War was utterly disgraceful in the light of the ethic and spirit of the Prince of Peace. But common knowledge does not mean a carefully documented and detailed statement. With the exception of a sporadic magazine or newspaper article, we have not had a sober history of just what our religious leaders and the rank and file said and did in the years from 1914 on. Now we have it. In *Preachers Present Arms* Ray H. Abrams, a member of the department of sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, tells the whole shameful story. Mr. Abrams comes from a long line of Baptist ancestors on both sides of his family, so he has had personal knowledge of the church tradition. In addition he has worked long and diligently with the single aim of finding the truth, and his study of the part played by the churches and their leaders in whipping up the war frenzy shows no rancor or bitterness, not even a desire to blame. His whole approach is from the standpoint of the social scientist who seeks the facts, finds them and tells them dispassionately. Mr. Abrams has given us the actual, one might almost say the official, record of the churches during the war. In that record five items stand out.

First of all it must be recorded that while our churches have a tradition of peace and have continuously given lip service to the cause, they have supported every particular and specific war that this country has fought. They had a large part in the War of the Revolution. They supported the Civil War on both sides of the border. In the Spanish American War one of the Philadelphia pastors said: "More righteous is this war than the war for independence . . . and the Civil War . . . because in this war we are fighting for the freedom of those who are bound to us by no other ties than those of common humanity." Thus it is apparent that the churches and their leaders came up to the Great War with a love for peace in general but with a willingness to fight any particular war which the government might declare.

Second, the record shows that between the close of the Spanish American War and 1914 the peace movement made great strides in the churches as well as in the country at large. There were more than thirty peace organizations. The annual peace conference at Lake Mohonk had in 1920 an attendance of 300 invited guests. The World Peace Foundation took on an aggressive program, as did also the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. When the Federal Council of Churches was founded in 1908, one of the avowed aims was the furtherance of the cause of peace, and that aim was vigorously affirmed in 1912. In February, 1914, the Church Peace Union was founded with an endowment of \$2,000,000 from Andrew Carnegie, who said: "It is to the churches that we must look for the bringing of peace." Shortly before, Frederick Lynch, who became the organization's secretary, said: "The Protestant churches of this nation have put themselves on record as favoring the unlimited arbitration of international disputes." Another time he exclaimed enthusiastically that "It looks as though this were going to be the age of treaties rather than the age of war, the century of reason rather than the century of force."

Third, the record shows that the coming of the Great War was

met with consternation and dismay by churchmen as well as American citizens generally. The dream of world peace was rudely shattered. However, the country as a whole was neutral and was genuinely convinced that America was superior to Europe in its desire and capacity for peace. But from the beginning, as Mr. Abrams makes abundantly clear, the Allied propaganda was much more effective than the German. Very early the British and French, through their control of the sources of information, were able to sell the idea of a "holy war" to large and influential sections of the American public. Churchmen especially "fell for it." By the end of the year 1914 the preparedness movement was under way, and the National Security League was organized, drawing its funds particularly from J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller. Lyman Abbott, editor and clergyman, and one of the League's outstanding members, lost no time in telling the country that he was a member of every peace society in the country, but that the campaign for an increased army and navy made this Security League "the best peace society in the United States." But this organization was not unchallenged. The American League to Limit Armaments was organized with such men at its head as Bishop Greer, Oswald Garrison Villard, Nicholas Murray Butler, Percy Stickney Grant, of the Church of the Ascension, and others equally well known. And the Church Peace Union stood its ground, sending out a questionnaire to ten thousand members and publishing the results in May, 1915, which showed that 95 per cent were opposed to increase in armament at that time.

Then came the Lusitania disaster. This event helped greatly to crystallize church opinion as well as the American attitude generally. Allied propaganda and the propaganda of the defense societies did their work. The National Security League called on the clergy to preach on preparedness July 4, 1915. There were a few protests but the response as a whole was gratifying. More and more the clergy were for preparedness. By Thanksgiving the *New York Times* could write about the sermons of the day that "there was an almost universal note in favor of military preparedness," but it noted the exception at the Broadway Tabernacle, the church of Charles E. Jefferson. On May 13, 1916, there came the great New York preparedness parade, and most of us who were in New York on those days sensed a definite change in the popular temper. We knew the militarists had won. It was only a matter of time until they would have us in the war. Wilson fought his campaign in the fall on the slogan that he had kept us out of war, but he had already made the decision to enter the shambles. Soon the clergy, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, were shouting for war. As Mr. Abrams recounts, the teachings about peace were largely forgotten and the church as a whole urged the war and blessed it when it came. Such then is the third part of the record, the story of the capitulation of the church and its leaders to the militarists. One by one the preachers turned their backs on peace, and even great souls like Robert E. Speer accepted the war as the only way out.

The fourth phase of the preachers' war record deals with their rationalization of the peace ideal and the exigency of the time. What they said makes sad reading now. Many, I know, would give their right hand could they call back their words. One of my own theological teachers said, "This war, when carried by the Allies and America to the right issue, will be another proof of the divine power of the Sermon on the Mount." A Y. M. C. A.



physical director supplied the soldiers with a little manual on hand-to-hand fighting. Among other things, he said: "Never miss an opportunity to destroy the eyes of the enemy. . . . The eye can easily be removed with the finger." And another Y. M. C. A. secretary of great power wrote: "I would not enter this work till I could see Jesus himself sighting down a gun barrel and running a bayonet through an enemy's body." Even such a scholar and teacher as Dr. Bosworth, formerly dean of Oberlin, could write: "The Christian soldier in friendship wounds the enemy. In friendship he kills the enemy." And such a man as the Rev. George F. Pentecost, a Presbyterian pastor in Philadelphia, could say that no line could be drawn between Christianity and patriotism and "every Presbyterian church should be a recruiting station." Mr. Abrams' record gives us page after page of these statements. It is a record of apostasy that makes one ashamed and sick at heart.

The fifth part of the record is reserved for those who kept the faith. There was a remnant who did not join the pack. There were a few who did not bow the knee to Baal or throw their children to Moloch. There were a few who kept the faith. John Haynes Holmes was one. Norman Thomas another. And there was "Billy" Fincke, Nevyn Sayre, Paul Jones and a few others. Mr. Abrams has listed most of them (not all) and he tells just what happened to them. In a few cases these preachers kept their pulpits and their people stood by them, but these were rare exceptions. These men have a right to be proud of their war record. They worked through the war to lessen the burden of the con-

scientious objectors. And little help they got from the churches! They worked, too, for civil liberties and for a just peace. Their individual testimony and the organized testimony of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and other groups kept the torch of true religion alight. To their work is due the fact that a new spirit is arising in our clergy. How they must rejoice as they hear Dr. Fosdick, Sherwood Eddy, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and many others declare that they will "never bless or support any war whatsoever again." The list of penitents increases daily.

But what of the future? If we fight again, say against Japan for the honor of the white race, or against England for the freedom of the seas, or against Russia to prevent the spread of atheistic communism, will the preachers be for those wars too? Time alone can answer. Mr. Abrams is most fair and generous. He does not blame the clergy for what they did in the last war. They were the victims, like all the rest, of propaganda, the herd instinct and the munition makers. But this cannot satisfy a sincere preacher of the gospel of Christ. He cannot excuse himself in that way. He believes that the gospel of love can redeem the world. He has nothing to preach if in a time of stress he falls back, and justifies his falling back on the way of the world, the way of hatred and violence and bloodshed. Now is the time for the ministers of America to read their record of 1917 and 1918 and make up their minds where they will stand when the propaganda machine again cries, "Kill, kill for the glory of God and the American people."

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

## The Germany of Hitler

*My Battle.* By Adolf Hitler. Houghton Mifflin Co. \$3.00.

*The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror.* World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, Lord Marley, Chairman. Alfred Knopf. \$2.50.

*Germany, Twilight or New Dawn?* Anonymous. McGraw-Hill. \$2.00.

**A**MONG the scores of books on Germany which are pouring off the presses, Hitler's autobiography, *My Battle*, and the *Brown Book* belong to volumes which must be regarded as indispensable to the student of Hitlerism. The translation of Hitler's autobiography, of which more than a million copies have been sold in the original, gives the American reader the first opportunity to analyze the guiding political ideas and prejudices of Germany's new master and reveals the historical roots of the fanatic Germanism which characterizes his outlook.

The most outstanding impressions made on this reviewer by Hitler's confession are: (1) That Hitler has rather more ability than he is usually credited with. (2) That his fanaticisms have at least the semblance of genuine honesty. If he is dishonest his confessions do not reveal it. (3) His outlook upon world politics is informed by a consistent Machiavellian realism. One can easily understand the appeal of this outlook upon a people who feel themselves outraged by the hypocritical pretensions of the victor nations of Versailles. (4) His demagogic skill in arousing the masses is less a matter of unconscious instinct and more a product of conscious purpose, informed by a cynical contempt for the mind of the masses, than I had previously supposed.

Incidentally, most of the franker portions of his autobiography

which deal with the problem of propaganda and which insist, for instance, that by the right kind of propaganda "people can be made to see paradise as hell and the other way around," have been deleted from the translated version. These and other omissions, intended to make his book more palatable to non-German readers, change the temper of his confessions sufficiently to make the translation an essentially dishonest document.

Upon reading Hitler's life, one is less surprised at his rise to power. His prejudices and fanaticisms are indigenous to the lower middle class soil from which he sprang; and where they transcend this class they merge into the temper and express the aspirations and illusions of a defeated, frustrated and aggrieved people. In his emotional life Hitler merely gives vivid expression to contemporary emotions of his nation in general and of the lower middle classes in particular. His statesmanship is without any element of profundity, but it is a statesmanship which knows how to relate his own emotional life to, and to impose his political attitudes upon, a whole people. Here is a combination of honest fanaticism with shrewdness, the shrewdness being directed to the task of making his fanaticism a vehicle for the hysteria of a sick nation.

The *Brown Book* has been publicized to such a degree that its contents are now widely known. It is a fairly complete record of the dark side of Hitlerism. It gives chapter and verse for dozens of cases of atrocity and sadism on the part of the Hitlerites against their political foes and against the Jews. Its most interesting chapters deal with the Reichstag fire, in which the evidence presented to the commission of international jurists is recorded. While it does not clear up the mystery of the fire completely, it does prove



with practical conclusiveness that the Dutch incendiary Van der Lubbe was a tool of the Nazis, and not of the Communists.

The anonymous author of *Germany, Twilight or New Dawn?* is probably some liberal German who is confused by the course of events in his native land and whose convictions are as inconclusive as the title of his book. His lines are written partly in explanation, partly in apology and partly in accusation of the Nazi regime. There are valuable sections in the book. His chapter on "An Outlawed Country" gives an admirable account of the sentiments of a defeated nation which made Hitler possible. The events and intrigues by which von Papen was able to construct a bridge of conservatism and reaction over which Hitler could ride to power, and the brutal will to power of a Goering and the chicane of a Goebbels which helped Hitler to destroy this bridge after he had used it, are accurately described.

None of the three books gives an adequate account of the economic basis of Hitlerism. They do not help the reader to see the National Socialists as a movement of the lower middle classes which the big industrialists are manipulating to their own advantage. The last book creates the impression that Hitler is complete master because he was able to get rid of Hugenberg. But nothing is said of Thyssen who still stands behind Hitler's throne, as does Schacht. The Junkers indeed are out, but the master of Germany is still mastered. Gregor Strasser, who was next to Hitler in power when Hitlerism was ascending, had a certain degree of honest radicalism in his politics. But Strasser is banned and discredited. This anonymous work suggests that he may again emerge as a leader when the conflict between the radicals and the nationalists in the party reaches a crisis.

R. N.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of March 3, 1933, of THE WORLD TOMORROW, published biweekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1933.  
State of New York, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Kirby Page, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City; Editors, Kirby Page, Devere Allen, Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul H. Douglas, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City; Managing Editor, none; Business Managers, none.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other incorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City (a non-stock corporation); John Nevins Sayre, 383 Bible House, New York City, President; Vice-President, none; Dorothy Detzer, 1805 H. St., N. W., Washington, D. C., Secretary; Henry P. Van Dusen, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York City, Treasurer.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the months preceding the date shown above is..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

KIRBY PAGE,

Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1933.

W. E. GARY,  
Notary Public, Westchester Co., N. Y. Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 14.  
N. Y. County Register's No. 4-G-7. Commission Expires March 30th, 1934



## THE LAST WORD

MUNICH used to be a charming city—not the most altitudinous in Europe, as the guidebooks say, for Madrid is nearer the bending sun, but nevertheless a pinnacle of those quaint mixtures of the ancient and the modern which fascinate a foreigner. I shall not soon forget the Jewish shopkeeper along Marstrasse who showered gifts upon us when she learned we were Americans and knew New York—"why shouldn't I give you some little things?" she reasoned; "I have a brother in Brooklyn." Nor does time erase the picture of Herr ———, our hotel manager, who, because he found we refused to hate the French (as he also would not) and contributed to an American radical magazine which he often read, insisted on seeing us off at the station at half-past seven of a morning bitter cold. But as in the case of most travelers, remembered best of all, perhaps, are those miles and miles of passages through the far-famed Deutsches Museum, which, we vowed when through, held everything, useful and unuseful, sane and mad, ever thought of by human minds.

I sincerely hope that on file there for permanent record will be kept the 1933 issues of the *Völkische Beobachter*, the Munich Nazi organ. No journal in the world has quite equaled it, I suppose, in the last few months for fantasy. Even as the official Communist papers "class-angle" all the news, so does this masterpiece of Nazi mentality lose no chance to sell Hitlerism to the world. On September 6, according to my own special espionage system, the *Völkische Beobachter* announced in stentorian headlines from the front page, that "as a result of the Nazi government's economic measures and the improved conditions they have produced, there was a sharp rise in the birth rate in Wurtemberg." If you know your biology, you will be interested to observe that the Hitler regime had been in power almost precisely seven months. There seems to be nothing that dictatorship can't do.

EVEN where democracy theoretically prevails, steps are being taken to curtail some of its prerogatives. The Danish parliament, for example, has put in a system of traffic lights to tell orators when to start and stop. Time for discussion is definitely limited, and when a speaker rises to declare, "Sir, ten million people are looking to us this night for succor, from the rock-ribbed coast of Hjöring to the sunny shores of Skjaelskor," a green light is turned on. One minute from the time when he is due to finish, a red light blinks, and a minute later it flashes on persistently. He can then take his choice of sitting down and shutting up or suffering whatever punishment the Speaker deems suitable for the crime.

There's a certain type of propagandist, however, with whom even so rigorous a system would not work. Years ago, British woman suffragettes chained themselves to the gallery grille in the House of Commons and proceeded to talk until their handcuffs were filed through. Nor will red lights halt those habitual hecklers who interrupt and flee when they have done their damage—for example, the gallery denizen who, when a famous Dry cried, "Vote for Al Smith! I'd rather get good and drunk any day!" shouted down, "Who wouldn't?" No; it will take more than red lights to eradicate the hit-and-run debater.

Dr. Hans Luther, Nazi Ambassador to the United States, has a stop-and-go system of his government's devising. It appears from his refusal to speak at the celebration of Germantown's founding that a Hitler emissary is permitted to address public meetings only when a swastika hangs up prominently so that nobody can doubt the divine authenticity of the remarks. Well, Americans will know what to do from now on. . . .

Speaking of Munich, I see that a bull elephant in the zoo there recently broke loose and brutally beat up two attendants. With those qualifications, he will doubtless be promoted; so don't be surprised if you hear that Hitler, Goering and Goebbels have decided to make it a quartette.

## Eccentricus



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